members, Mr. Frederic Coudert, offered a report on trade schools in which the serfdom policy was quite distinctly suggested. This report recommended, as we find it stated in the New York Herald of the 25th—

> That shop work be introduced into all schools in which there are boys in the seventh or eighth year.
>
> That, as far as possible, the practical use of tools employed in the wood working and metal working trades be taught in the public schools, and the workshops be properly equipped.
>
> That the additional time needed for the extension of work in the shop be fixed as between three and five o'clock in the afternoons or Saturday mornings, or, in the evenings.
>
> That a separate vocational school for boys between fourteen and sixteen years be established, and that part of Public School No. 144, Manhattan, facing Orchard street, be so equipped and that fifteen rooms in Public School No. 75, Brooklyn, be set aside as a vocational school for girls.

+

It doesn't require much reading between the lines to see in those suggestions a purpose to subordinate general industrial education to the acquirement of special skill sufficient for routine factory jobs. Mr. Coudert may be innocent enough of that purpose personally, but somewhere among the influences behind him there is evidently a deliberate intention to utilize the public schools as labor-supply stations for industrial oligarchs. One could almost believe that these suggestions were written by the noted labor union "buster," James W. Van Cleave, who, only a few days earlier, in an attack upon trade unions in which he foretold their extinction, frankly said:

> Right at our hand is an opportunity to raise more and better mechanics than the apprenticeship system ever furnished, namely by attaching a manual training department to every public school of the primary grade in the United States. In this department, let every boy from the age of 9 or 10 to 14 give an hour every day to the use of tools employed in the more important mechanical trades, under competent instructors, and make the attendance compulsory on each boy.

The evident object here is to qualify the great mass of school children, those of the poorer classer, to become, not educated mechanics, but human cogs in an industrial mechanism, ready upon demand to be put into the place of the human cogs that drop out; and all for the financial advantage of the owners of the mechanism, without reference to the good of the human cogs or of society as a whole. The object was brought out even more clearly by Andrew S. Draper, the commissioner of education of the State of New York, in a paper read before the National Educational Association at Cleveland on the 29th, in which he proposed three distinct classes of schools to follow the elementary schools: First, the present high school system; second, business schools looking to work in offices, stores, etc.; and, third, factory and trades schools looking to the training of workmen.

+

True industrial education is different from all that. It is an education in the manual arts that everyone should acquire as part of his general school work, for the education of his mind as well as his hand. It should be broad, laying a firm basis for any kind of employment, manual or professional, which the youth as he matures sufficiently to decide with intelligence may choose to adopt. An industrial education of the right kind, is no less important to the future lawyer, physician, preacher, journalist, or merchant, than to the journeyman mechanic or the engineer. We must have it if we are to have a good democratic citizenship. But the kind for which Mr. Van Cleave prays and which Mr. Coudert and Mr. Draper offer as if in answer to Mr. Van Cleave's prayer, is of a totally different species. It would emphasize mere manual skill in a restricted sphere of industry, in order to furnish ready-made machine-tenders incompetent ever to be anything else. To object to this, one need not be solicitous for trade unions. A labor force so recruited would soon organize against the oligarchs, and probably with more intelligence and mutual loyalty than is usual among shop-grown workmen. But the tendency of such a system toward class stratification makes it intolerable as an attachment of the public schools. Our public schools are for the training of citizens. They are not for the segregation of scholars from clerks and both from factory hands; and they must not be organized to serve as intelligence offices for industrial oligarchs in quest of industrial serfs.

+ +

The Death of Grover Cleveland.

It has become the custom when a public man dies, to cover his memory with flowers of rhetoric; and few are so profuse in fulsome tributes as those who in his lifetime were among his bitterest assailants. The latest object of this species of post morten apologetics is Grover Cleveland, although a man of his stamina could hardly have contemplated the possibility of it without some sense of contempt. This is not to imply that kindly words should be withheld when death comes. Very far is it from implying that the fairer opinion into which one may be shocked by

Digitized by Google

the death of an adversary should find no public expression. It implies simply that the presence of death should make our estimates of public men no less genuine in substance than kindly in form.

+

Grover Cleveland was a man of pronounced characteristics, a rugged man intellectually as well as physically. He was tenacious of his opinions, loyal in his friendships, and faithful to his purposes. With his public record, only the somewhat distant historian will be able to deal fairly; for it was made under influences of a kind that are yet in ferment. Had he been a labor leader, he would have been journalistically as infamous as plutocratic papers could have made him appear; for he was temperamentally inclined to "class consciousness" in the extreme, and he had the full courage of his convictions. As it happened, his "class consciousness" identified him with plutocratic interests with which in the abstract he probably had little sympathy. A lifelong Democrat, his democracy was of the traditional type. Although he sometimes gave excellent expression to democracy in the fundamental sense, it was usually evident that he grasped the significance of his words in this respect no more than he appreciated the free trade tendency of his famous tariff-reform message. In the political era that is opening now, Mr. Cleveland could have submitted to be a Republican candidate with greater ease, probably—political traditions aside—than he could have consented to be a Democratic candidate. He did not belong on the side of the disinherited industrial masses. While some doctrines to which he held pointed that way, his social environment tended to turn the current of his sympathy in the opposite direction.

+

It was at Syracuse in 1882 that Mr. Cleveland's reputation reached beyond Buffalo. As the delegates to the New York Democratic convention gathered there, they found the hotel walls covered with small steel portraits of an unfamiliar face, bearing in print the equally unfamiliar name, "Grover Cleveland." These portraits were mysteries. They gave no intimation of the object of posting them; and so famous a newspaper man as Amos Cummings, afterwards a member of Congress, fell into the error, first of satisfying himself that they were advertisements of a patent medicine dealer, and then that they were portraits of a man whose Buffalo friends were trying to strengthen politically at home with the prestige of his having been named for Governor in the convention. When the convention assembled and the roll had been called on nominations, Cleveland's name was there; but not prominently, and few expected to hear of him again. But as the secretary was trying to disentangle the vote, there came an interruption from John Kelly, who addressed the chair and changed the vote of Tammany Hall from one of the other candidates to Cleveland. Another delegation in a distant part of the hall immediately did the same thing. Then another, and another, and another, until the secretary was relieved of his difficulties, for Cleveland clearly had the nomination. In a moment it was made unanimous. No sooner had this been done than an immense portrait of the stranger candidate rose at the back of the hall, and Cleveland's career began. He was elected by the phenomenal majority of 200,000; not because he got a phenomenally large vote, but because Judge Folger, the Republican candidate, burdened with the taint of custom house bossism, got a phenomenally small one. But his great majority for Governor of New York in 1882 made Cleveland the Democratic candidate for President in 1884. The rest is national history.

+

As a former President of the United States, Mr. Cleveland bore a relation to the American people which calls for respectful consideration of his memory, regardless of partisan bias or personal sympathies. Time will assign him his true place as a statesman and disclose more clearly his character as a man. Meanwhile the best wish of the men who opposed him earnestly in life would be that those of his policies which they antagonized may be reversed as wrong, but that his motives and objects may come to be universally recognized as right.

+ + +

BRYAN THE GENUINE.*

Against the background of American public life today, two men stand out in bold relief as leaders of the masses of the people. One is Theodore Roosevelt; the other is William J. Bryan.

No one of intelligence and candor will deny this, whatever may be his personal estimate of either man. But in comparing their popularity, there is a factor that cannot be fairly overlooked.

*The portrait of William J. Bryan which accompanies the above editorial was taken especially for The Public by Alfred Cox, 215 Wabash avenue, Chicago. While this halftone reproduction is good, the original photograph cannot be reproduced with perfection. It is artistic as a photograph, and as a portrait of Mr. Bryan it excels all other portraits of him that have come to our notice.

Digitized by Google